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American anti-imperialist league

LIBERTY TRACTS.

No. 1.

THE CHICAGO LIBERTY MEETING

HELD AT
CENTRAL MUSIC HALL
APRIL 30, 1899

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."—*Abraham Lincoln, Speech of October 16, 1854.*

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."—*Abraham Lincoln, Letter to H. L. Pierce, April 6, 1859.*

"IF THIS BE TREASON, MAKE THE MOST OF IT."—*Patrick Henry.*

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CENTRAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE
TACOMA BUILDING, CHICAGO

1899

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"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."—PREAMBLE.

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."—FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

"It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States. * * * Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using that power. * * * I did understand * * * that my oath imposed upon me the duty of preserving, to the best of my ability, by every indispensable means, that government, that nation, of which the Constitution was the organic law."—LINCOLN.

"The late M. Guizot once asked me how long I thought our republic would endure? I replied: 'So long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant,' and he assented."—LOWELL.

A FORMER INSTANCE, A. D. 1565.

"He [Menendez] knew, he said, nothing of greater moment to his Majesty than the conquest and settlement of Florida. The climate was healthful and the soil fertile, and, worldly advantages aside, it was peopled by a race sunk in the thickest shades of infidelity. 'Such grief,' he pursued, 'seizes me, when I behold this multitude of wretched Indians, that I should choose the conquest and settling of Florida above all commands, offices, and dignities which your Majesty might bestow.'"—PARKMAN'S WORKS, VOL. I, P. 99.

"I am here to plant the Gospel. If you [French heretics] will give up your arms and banners and place yourselves at my mercy, you may do so, and I will act toward you as God shall give me grace. Do as you will, for other than this you can have neither truce nor friendship with me."—ID. P. 136.

"May the Lord deliver us from all cant. May the Lord, whatever else He do or forbear, teach us to look facts honestly in the face, and to beware (with a kind of shudder) of smearing them all over with our despicable and damnable palaver."—THOMAS CARLYLE.

"In vain we call old notions fudge,
And bend our conscience to our dealing;
The ten commandments will not budge,
And stealing will continue stealing."—LOWELL.

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PLATFORM.

The frank expression of honest convictions upon great questions of public policy is vital to the health and even to the preservation of representative government. Such expression is, therefore, the sacred duty of American citizens.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it is now necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We still maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the forcible subjugation of a purchased people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

We honor our soldiers and sailors in the Philippine islands for their unquestioned bravery; and we mourn with the whole nation for the American lives that have been sacrificed. Their duty was obedience to orders; our duty is diligent inquiry and fearless protest. We hold that our government created the conditions which have brought about the sacrifice.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It is the spirit of '76 that our government is striving to extinguish in those islands; we denounce the attempt and demand its abandonment. We deplore and resent the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror, a deep dishonor to our nation.

We protest against the extension of American empire by Spanish methods, and demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We believe that a foolish pride is the chief obstacle to a speedy settlement of all difficulties. As Mr. Gladstone said to England, "We are strong enough * * * to cast aside all considerations of false shame * * * walking in the plain and simple ways of right and justice." Our government should at once announce to the Filipinos its purpose to grant them under proper guarantees of order the independence for which they have so long fought, and should seek by diplomatic methods to secure this independence by the common consent of nations. It is today as true of the Filipinos as it was a year ago of the Cubans that they "are and of right ought to be free and independent."

THE CALL.

The undersigned call upon all lovers of liberty and justice to attend a public meeting to protest against American imperialism, and especially against the attempt of the United States to subjugate by force the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands:

Henry Wade Rogers.	W. L. Burnham.	S. S. Greeley.
H. E. Von Holst.	J. J. Halsey.	H. S. Oakley.
A. C. McClurg.	G. W. Schmidt.	J. V. Blake.
Jane Addams.	S. S. Rogers.	F. W. Root.
Murray F. Tuley.	H. O. Nourse.	E. D. Wheelock.
H. W. Thomas.	C. F. Browne.	D. M. Lord.
R. A. White.	J. L. Jackson.	George E. Dawson.
E. F. Davis.	R. C. Catterall.	H. S. Hyman.
W. K. Ackerman.	R. A. Millikan.	J. W. Hiner.
Francis H. Peabody.	W. T. Field.	F. W. Miller.
W. M. Slater.	E. B. Tolman.	M. W. Haynes.
Sigmund Zeisler.	Adlai T. Ewing.	F. S. Howard.
J. J. Glessner.	Wm. Morton Payne.	Kirk Hawes.
Jenkin Lloyd Jones.	D. F. Bremner.	J. W. Fifield.
C. L. Hutchinson.	W. McCumber.	J. H. Bowman.
Edwin Burritt Smith.	Joseph Donnersberger.	W. Carwardine.
Graham Taylor.	Frank H. Scott.	J. C. Hessler.
Howard Leslie Smith.	W. M. Meagher.	C. P. Van Inwegen.
Andrew McLeish.	William Kent.	W. R. Mitchell.
Leroy D. Thoman.	A. B. Pond.	H. W. Thurston.
George L. Paddock.	I. K. Pond.	F. W. Lorenz.
Thomas Moran.	L. F. Post.	G. S. Foster.
W. H. Barnum.	W. P. Black.	William Prentiss.
William C. Ewing.	H. B. Fuller.	C. F. Harding.
S. P. McConnell.	J. Hieglits.	Lynden Evans.
G. M. Eckels.	Edward J. Kuh.	C. H. Bunker.
Otto Gresham.	C. S. Sturges.	H. S. Shedd.
I. K. Boyesen.	H. L. Wait.	C. A. Torrey.
August Blum.	F. M. LeMoyne.	J. J. Corcoran.
H. A. Gradner.	J. A. Miller.	W. H. Maguire.
F. W. Gookin.	S. R. Taber.	F. H. Wentworth.
John A. King.	J. H. Moore.	J. Sullivan.
Thomas M. Hoyne.	J. J. Watt.	G. H. Loehr.
F. H. McCulloch.	W. J. Herrick.	F. M. Browne.
Edward O. Brown.	M. Hoyne.	D. H. Perkins.
William G. Hale.	J. H. Bowman.	J. E. Todd.
C. R. Henderson.	W. C. Young.	H. L. Bliss.
H. R. Donaldson.	J. J. Kinsley.	F. H. Monroe.
J. Laurence Laughlin.	L. A. Goddard.	F. D. Butler.
Paul Shorey.	J. Rosenthal.	E. P. Rosenthal.
J. R. Angell.	W. W. Fenn.	E. W. Maguire.
Ernst Freund.	M. J. Russell.	E. E. Prussing.
A. C. Miller.	W. Oppenheim.	G. C. Prussing.
Charles Zeublin.	L. Winchester.	Jos. A. O'Donnell.
F. B. Tarbell.	J. Z. White.	C. W. Pearson.
G. L. Hendrickson.	W. S. Crosby.	W. R. Bridgeman.
J. W. A. Young.	F. P. Schmidt.	J. H. Wigmore.
A. H. Tolman.	E. O. Jordan.	H. R. Hatfield.
S. W. Cutting.	F. I. Carpenter.	H. S. Fiske.
S. H. Clark.	J. T. Hatfield.	and 315 others.
F. Starr.	John H. Gray.	

THE OFFICERS OF THE MEETING.

CHAIRMAN,

PRESIDENT HENRY WADE ROGERS.

CHAPLAIN,

REV. J. W. FIFIELD.

SECRETARY,

HOWARD LESLIE SMITH, Esq.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS,

PROF. WM. GARDNER HALE, RICHARD T. CRANE,

PROF. ALBERT H. TOLMAN, WILLIAM KENT

AND HOWARD LESLIE SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

THEODORE J. AMBERG.
MISS JANE ADDAMS.
WILLIAM K. ACKERMAN.
DANKMAR ADLER.
WILLIAM H. BARNUM.
H. L. BLISS.
JAMES VILA BLAKE.
WILLIAM P. BLACK.
JAMES H. BOWMAN.
CHARLES F. BROWNE.
FRANCIS F. BROWNE.
EDWARD O. BROWN.
DAVID F. BREMNER.
WALTER R. BRIDGEMAN.
RICHARD T. CRANE.
W. H. CARWARDINE.
STARR W. CUTTING.
CLARENCE S. DARROW.
H. H. DONALDSON.
JOSEPH DONNERSBERGER.
EDWARD F. DUNNE.
JOSEPH W. ERRANT.
LYNDEN EVANS.
ADLAI T. EWING.
WILLIAM G. EWING.
W. W. FENN.
DANIEL M. LORD.
HENRY C. LYTTON.
A. C. M'CILURG.
S. P. M'CONNELL.
F. W. MILLAR.
JAMES A. MILLER.
THOMAS A. MORAN.
HORACE S. OAKLEY.
JOSEPH A. O'DONNELL.
GEORGE L. PADDOCK.
WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE.
DWIGHT H. PERKINS.
FRANCIS B. PEABODY.
LOUIS F. POST.
ALLEN B. POND.
GEORGE E. PRUSSING.
EUGENE E. PRUSSING.
WILLIAM PRENTISS.
WILLIAM RAPP.
S. S. ROGERS.
JULIUS ROSENTHAL.
FREDERICK W. ROOT.
FRANK H. SCOTT.
PAUL SHOREY.

J. W. FIFIELD.
ERNEST FREUND.
HENRY B. FULLER.
J. J. GLESSNER.
F. W. GOOKIN.
S. S. GURLEY.
OTTO GRESHAM.
JOHN H. GRAY.
WILLIAM G. HALE.
KIRK HAWES.
J. J. HALSEY.
MYRON W. HAYNES.
JAMES T. HATFIELD.
C. R. HENDERSON.
FREDERICK S. HEBARD.
H. E. VON HOLST.
LOCKWOOD HONORE.
C. L. HUTCHINSON.
THOMAS M. HOYNE.
JOHN L. JACKSON.
JENKIN LLOYD JONES.
WILLIAM KENT.
JOHN A. KING.
EDWARD J. KUH.
J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.
ANDREW M'LEISH.
GEORGE A. SCHILLING.
HOWARD LESLIE SMITH.
EDWIN BURRITT SMITH.
FREDERICK STARR.
W. M. SALTER.
LEWIS STUART.
FRANK B. TOBEY.
A. H. TOLMAN.
GRAHAM TAYLOR.
LEROY D. THOMAN.
M. BROSS THOMAS.
E. B. TOLMAN.
J. F. TODD.
MURRAY F. TULEY.
JAMES J. WAIT.
FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.
EDWIN D. WHELOCK.
R. A. WHITE.
JOHN Z. WHITE.
MRS. H. M. WILMARTH.
JOHN H. WIGMORE.
MRS. ELLA F. YOUNG.
CHARLES ZEUBLIN.
SIGMUND ZEISLER.

OPENING ADDRESS.

Dr. Henry Wade Rogers:

Fellow Citizens—The gentlemen who issued the call under which we are assembled have asked me to act as chairman of this meeting.

We are here to express our convictions on a great public question which concerns the duty, the welfare and the honor of our country. Some of those who differ with us in opinion and who are intolerant of all opposition may accuse us of giving aid and comfort to the enemy. That is the answer one is given when he ventures to call in question the wisdom of the course now being pursued. I do not know, however, that we are under obligations to defer to intolerance by refraining at a time like this from declaring our opinions on the questions we are here to consider. I am sure that we all recognize the fact that the problem which confronts the country is full of perplexities and that it is one upon which good men may differ. I am confident, too, that we recognize the honesty and sincerity of the president of the United States and that we do not for a moment call in question the rectitude of his intentions. We are not here to discredit his administration nor to embarrass him in the performance of his duty.

The postmaster-general of the United States declared in this city a few weeks since that President McKinley was anxiously awaiting for the American people to tell him what to do with the Philippines. The president from the beginning of this controversy has taken pains to have it understood that he wanted to know the thought of the people of this country on the great problem with which the government has to deal. I have too much confidence in the sincerity of the man to believe that he courts expressions of opinions from one side only.

We are told by those who do not agree with us that it is too late to discuss the question as to the wisdom of taking the Philippines; that we have already

taken them; that our flag is there and that there it must remain; that we cannot recede without national dishonor; that we have a responsibility to civilization and humanity from which we cannot escape and do our duty; that those who favor the conquest of the Filipinos by the sword represent "the enlightened conscience and patriotism of the people" and have "the true American spirit," while those who think otherwise are false to patriotism and to duty and represent a policy that does not stand for the highest Americanism. This superiority of patriotism which some of these gentlemen arrogantly assume and this enlightened conscience which they boastfully assert they possess is a kind of hyperbole that, to use Macaulay's oft-repeated words, "lies without deceiving." It is the most arrant nonsense. It requires an unlimited amount of assurance to charge such men as Senator Hoar, Carl Schurz, Bishop Potter of New York and President Eliot of Harvard with a want of patriotism and with being devoid of an enlightened conscience. The abuse which these gentlemen who claim a monopoly of patriotism bestow upon those who differ with them in opinion discredits only those who indulge in it. That kind of clamor never yet silenced a conscientious man nor convinced a sensible one. Freedom of speech among self-respecting men cannot be thus suppressed.

Applause interrupted the speaker at this point. Continuing, he said:

We deny that the United States possess the Philippines. We have not taken them and the people who inhabit them are not our subjects and they are not in rebellion against our rightful rule over them. We have not yet embarked upon a policy of imperialism and may God forbid that we ever shall.

It is true that by the treaty of peace Spain ceded to the United States the Philippine islands and that the United States agreed to pay to Spain \$20,000,000. But it is important to consider the legal effect of such a treaty. What is it that Spain has sold and the United States purchased? Has Spain sold the Filipinos and have we bought them as so many cattle or as so many slaves? I deny that that is the legal effect of the treaty. Spain has simply renounced its

rights over those islands and this it has done in our favor. But it has not and it could not make those people our subjects against their will. The law does not compel these people to accept the United States as sovereign over them. The subjects of a state are not at that state's disposal like a farm or a herd of cattle. If during the revolution Great Britain had ceded her American colonies to Turkey, would the colonists have been under obligations to accept the supremacy of the sultan? Or if during the civil war the United States had ceded the southern states to Mexico, would the people within the ceded territory have been under obligations to submit themselves to the wishes of the ruler of Mexico? I think not.

Let me quote from the law of nations as it is laid down by Vattel. That writer, after conceding that in cases of necessity one state may cede to another a portion of its territory, goes on to say: "When, therefore, in such a case the state gives up a town or a province to a neighbor or to a powerful enemy the cession ought to remain valid as to the state, since she had the right to make it; nor can she any longer lay claim to the town or province thus alienated, since she has relinquished every right she could have over it. But the province or town thus abandoned and dismembered from the state is not obliged to receive the new master whom the state attempted to set over it. Being separated from the society of which it was a member, it resumes all of its original rights, and if it be capable of defending its liberty against the prince who would subject it to his authority it may lawfully resist him."

This is exactly the situation in which the Filipinos are placed. They have never been subject to the authority of the United States. They do not acknowledge the right of Spain to subject them to that authority or to do more than to relinquish Spanish authority over them. According to Vattel they are lawfully resisting us. Let me also quote from an acknowledged American authority upon the same subject—President Woolsey of Yale. In his work on international law that writer, in speaking of treaties of cession, asks whether the party making the cession is under any obligation to secure the newcomers in possession, and says:

"Must the former do anything beyond renouncing his rights of sovereignty over the territory and leaving it free and open to the new sovereign? To us it appears that this is all he is bound to do. If, then, the inhabitants should resist and reject the new sovereign, as they have undoubted right to do—for who gave any state the right to dispose of its inhabitants?—the question now is to be settled between the province or territory and the conqueror."

The international lawyer knows that we are engaged in a war of conquest. When an armed force lands upon the territory of a people against that people's will and seeks to bring them under subjection to a government to which they have never in any way acknowledged allegiance, they are there as invaders and conquerors. We cannot rid ourselves of that character in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the international law by any high-sounding phrases about these people being our wards and about the obligations we are under to civilization. The greatest service we can render to civilization is to show that we respect the rights of man. A war of conquest is a war of criminal aggression. With all due deference to Governor Roosevelt, who considers the statement cant, I venture to say that such a war ought never to be entered upon by a nation founded upon the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We fought the war with Spain to give liberty to the people of Cuba. Congress declared in April, 1898, that the people of the island of Cuba "are and of right ought to be free and independent." The people of the Philippines have the same right to be free and independent. And yet we are fighting them that we may make them dependent upon the United States. We seek to excuse our conduct to ourselves by saying that after all the time has not arrived when these people ought to be free and independent and that until it does we will assume guardianship over them and will for their sakes bear "the white man's burden." This is very kind of us, but these people decline to become our wards and according to my thinking they are entitled to be consulted in the matter. In June, 1898, Admiral Dewey sent a telegram from Manila

to Secretary Long at Washington in which he gave his estimate of the Filipinos as follows: "In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba and I am familiar with both races."

For one I am opposed to the United States intermeddling in the affairs of Europe, Asia or Africa. I am opposed to imperialism, which I believe to be inconsistent with our theories of government. I am in favor of keeping to our own hemisphere and opposed to all acquisitions of territory elsewhere excepting only necessary naval stations. I am above all opposed to the acquisitions of territory through wars of conquest. I am opposed to rushing into difficulties that do not concern us except in imaginary ways.

Dr. Rogers' statement was received with cheers, and after they subsided he concluded his oration as follows:

We are asked what the United States can do under the unfortunate conditions that now exist. We cannot return the Philippines to Spain. We cannot surrender them to any European or Asiatic state or allow them to be treated as a football among nations. But the United States can put an end to the war of conquest by suspending hostilities, by declaring to the nations that it assumes a protectorate of the Philippine islands against foreign aggression and by calling upon the natives to establish their own internal government. When that experiment has failed, if fail it should, it will be time enough to consider what should then be done.

WHY WE PROTEST.

Address of Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

In silence and in patience we have been called upon to witness what seems to us a pathetic and deplorable lapse from the high ideals of democracy; in silence and in patience we have received day by day the sad news of the sacrifice of the lives of American youths in far-off islands; in silence and in patience we have

listened to the attendant news that told of the wholesale slaughter of the untrained children of the tropics, whose only sin, as it seemed to us, was the instinct—deep implanted in human nature—to be free. We have been compelled to listen in patience and in silence to the cry of a helpless people who were lifting mute hands to the God of the heavens, begging for them and their children the lands and the homes that were ordained to them by a providence non-American.

We have come to the time in this presence when silence ceases to be a virtue and patience calls for resistance, and we are here today to demand a higher interpretation of the words "patriot" and "patriotism." As was suggested by a silent member on the platform just before we came into this presence, "patriot" used to mean a man who was willing to die for the freedom of his own country; now it would seem to come to mean in this country the willingness of a man to die that the freedom of a remote fellow-being may be taken away from him.

Friends, you may at other times arrange a discussion of this problem on its economic and business side. Today we are here on this holy day, consecrated to religion, to say that there is no phase of this question worthy of debate other than the ethical and religious phase of it. For the ethics we believe in, the God we worship, and the bible we study, do not warrant the aggrandizement of one nation at the cost of another, and will not justify greed in its grasp of the land that belongs to another.

We are here today to speak as best we may, each for himself, for that prince of peace, and protest in his name against that Christian pity that would extend its boundaries on the point of a bayonet, and emphasize its gospel with the explosion of powder. Once more, and last, we are here to plead for that last hope of humanity—democracy—that never yet has found a place in its lexicon for the words "colonies," "invasion" and "conquest." When those words come into our dictionary then the words "democracy" and "republicanism" must be blotted out. We stand here for those who believe that the revolutionary fathers meant what they said when they declared that all just governments must derive their power from the con-

sent of the governed. And we are here to forecast a sad future for this beloved land of ours if it dare trust quantity rather than quality, and dare undertake to extend its boundaries by methods which may be justifiable to monarchy, but never have been justifiable and never can be realized by republicanism.

We have nothing to do today with Aguinaldo and his pathetic band of patriots. It goes without saying that if they are not already conquered they soon will be. Of course, we have guns and powder and men enough to travel those islands from shore to shore and leave them a desert waste, if that is what we are after. But, friends, it is for us to remember that Manila is but a little spot on the margin of one island which is itself as large as the state of Virginia, and if we have taken Manila and captured that little band that has been trying to protect it, we have got no further into the invasion of that tropical Virginia than if we had taken Alexandria, outside of Washington. We are discussing this afternoon the future rights of those whom God has placed in an area as large as our country would be, measured from here to New Orleans on the south, and longer than from here to Buffalo on the east. We are here to discuss the future relations of 1,200 to 2,000 islands, which now hold nine million—and more—people. We have begun at the small end of an interminable war for conquest, which can be paralleled only by our own experience in trying to settle the Indian question in this country, without any of the geographical or ethnological questions which come in to justify—poorly—our own treatment of these nearer brethren of the lower world of intelligence and development.

And so, friends, as patriots, as those who love the flag—and some of us have followed it into danger and stood by it when it was torn by bullets—in the name of that flag, we call for that moral courage that dares pull it down when it can thus better represent the rights of humanity where physical courage raised it up.

We are here—the last word I have to say is that we are here, not for a moment and not for opposition, but we are here to stand for the future honor of our country and the further triumph of republicanism.

Our service will be needed as long as there are those who would read democracy in terms of military power and who believe that the physical arm of man, which never has been strong enough to save any nation that the sun ever shone upon, is stronger, of more import than the spiritual power of man, which never yet has been defeated by any empire or power since time began.

THE PHILIPPINE WAR.

Address of J. Laurence Laughlin.

I have great respect for many of those who differ from us and who believe that war and expansion are just and wise. But as they have a right to their opinions, so we have to ours; and let us calmly give the grounds for our beliefs, knowing that the fairness and intelligence of the American people will decide correctly between us. We are of those who believe that it should be asked of a public action whether it is right and just, not whether we are strong enough to do it.

We are not now concerned with the right or wrong of the original war with Spain. That is past and gone. We are not here to discuss things which cannot be changed. There is here no need of words about how we came by the Philippines. We are there today, as a fact. It is also a fact that we are in Cuba—but, thank God! we are not distributing liberty to Cubans with rapid-firing guns. Why are we doing it in the Philippines? Because some one has blundered there; hence the useless expiation of thousands of innocent lives, and the consequent horror and loneliness in thousands of homes. A war for humanity against the Spanish in Cuba and at the instance of Congress has drifted into a war for conquest against the Filipinos at the will of the Executive.

Have we gone to war only after exhausting all the arts of diplomacy and conciliation? No, we have gone to war first, despising the arts of statesmanship. That is why we demand that war should cease until

every device of peaceful negotiation should be tried, and tried in vain. We went there with uplifted club, saying: "We bought you, you belong to us. Surrender outright, or we will subjugate you." And then because they did just what our forefathers did at Lexington and Concord, we sent more troops and killed more natives to satisfy our prestige before the world. What more like a coward and a bully before a helpless child!

Have we forgotten the attempt of Napoleon I. to conquer Toussaint L'Ouverture with veteran battalions, which melted away before the fevers of Hayti? Will not the day come when Aguinaldo may claim a niche in history alongside Toussaint L'Ouverture, as the defender of his country? Will not the day come when we shall all be ashamed of this unholy war?

They tell us we must stay in the Philippines in order to obtain markets for our goods, and to give us a base for our trade with China and the East. Nay, one expansive nature says: "We must expand our trade even if it costs 1,000, 10,000, 100,000 lives." There you have merciless commercialism run riot. Is it really true that America has become a soulless statistical machine to make profit by trade? Have we no bowels of compassion? Have we nothing left of right, of justice, of honor? Are we ready to sell good Anglo-Saxon lives in an indefensible war of conquest for a mess of pottage? Cursed be the day when that can be said of us! Now, even if we could gain enormous trade and profit by such dishonor, there are not words enough in our vocabulary to express the abhorrence we should feel at such immorality. It is time to hear the voices of men of character ring clear and loud in protest against such a despicable policy.

But if, in return for a policy of conquest instead of humanity, of murderous depopulation instead of peaceful negotiation, it should prove that there would be no profits of trade to speak of, no expansion of trade that we might not have obtained without this enormous loss of money and life, then the men who have brought us into this pass ought to be shriveled by public indignation and disappear from public life.

From 1883-1890 the total annual value of merchan-

dise imported and exported by the Philippine islands averaged about \$34,000,000. If the profits were as great as 10 per cent, and if the Americans could have controlled every cent of the trade, the gain would have been insufficient to pay merely the interest on the war loan. To keep only a single division of our army in the field costs about \$20,000,000, many times as much as the gain from the total trade with the Philippines. It is said that our new possessions in the East will necessitate a much enlarged navy; yet the gains from their whole trade would be eaten up by only one or two new ships. The whole of the trade, however, cannot be held by the United States—as everyone knows—any more than it was held by Spain. Therefore, the actual profits of our share in the whole would be so insignificant as not to be worth the loss of one American soldier; a pitiful sum to offer a great nation as a return for dishonor.

It will be said, however, that under a strong government and modern methods of industry the islands will develop an enormous wealth in the future, which we should control and profit by. Grant that—although to me it seems doubtful. I insist that whether the United States obtains a share or not of this increasing trade will depend not at all upon our owning the Philippine islands. It is understood by the world that we cannot adopt the exclusive policy of Spain and shut up the ports to all trade but our own. Since we must admit all other nations to the Philippine ports upon the same terms that we enjoy, our ability to compete there will depend entirely upon our industrial conditions at home. Under conditions wholly independent of the war with Spain, we have raised the value of our exports to foreign markets to a sum never reached before in all our history. That in itself is a full and sufficient refutation to the claim that we need to own foreign ports in order to sell our goods. We would not sell any more of our goods, or any different goods, to Great Britain than we sell today, even if we owned every inch of the British islands. Whether we shall sell much or little to the Philippine islands depends upon what they can produce to offer us, and upon our ability to supply the goods they desire cheaper than other nations. Only natives can be

counted upon as laborers able to withstand the deadly malaria and fevers. Hence the amount of future production to be expected in those islands must grow very slowly, certainly no faster than the development of new capacities and qualities in a race of fixed customs and rigid habits of thinking. Our trade will be limited by what they can purchase by their own products, which are chiefly hemp, sugar, copra (the dried meat of the cocoanut) and tobacco. I question whether our farmers who are beginning to grow beet sugar will welcome the competition of Philippine sugar. On the other hand, what do they import? Chiefly rice, canned goods and vegetables, cotton goods, some iron and steel, kerosene, paper and various other articles in small amounts. (We might have exterminated the Filipinos by sending them certain brands of our canned goods.)

If we wish to increase our trade with the Filipinos or any other nation, we must look within, not without. Our ability to sell in competition with others depends upon the richness of our natural resources, the skill and efficiency of our laborers, the organization of our industries, the invention and use of machinery, low cost of transportation by sea and land, a knowledge of foreign markets and adaptability to the customs and prejudices of our buyers. Why has the United States recently taken the lead of the world in the iron and steel trade? Because of the abundance and cheapness of our ores, the wonderful machinery by which it is loaded into and out of ships, the great capacity of new transports on our lakes, supplies of good coal, the new methods of coking by which the smoke is consumed, production in large quantities, skillful labor, scientific management and low cost of transportation. The reason why the bridge over the Atbara in Egypt for General Kitchener was awarded to an American firm was because the above advantages allowed us to build it cheaper and more quickly than the best firms of Great Britain. It makes no difference to our trade who owns the Nile, so long as we can build the best bridge at the lowest cost.

Why has commerce between our Pacific ports and the East greatly expanded of late? For the same reasons already specified. And because the cotton

factories of the New South are sending their goods directly to the Orient across our Western states. Our trade with the Philippine islands depends far more upon those smoking chimneys in the South than upon the rapid-firing guns of the army. Give us this wonderfully low cost of production in the South—where all the materials of the cotton and iron industries are assembled together by nature—and our goods can no more be kept out of foreign markets than water can be prevented from flowing down hill. Already, without colonies, our export trade in manufactures has increased during 1889-1898 from \$138,000,000 to \$290,000,000, and our agricultural exports from \$532,000,000 to \$853,000,000. What greater development could we ask? In the same years our exports to China have quadrupled. If trade is growing like this, why should we resort to conquest, when it is likely that conquest means no gains of trade, but only loss of life and increased taxation?

They tell us, indeed, that trade follows the flag. It would be equally sensible to say that game follows the hunter, or that the horse follows the cart. You may wave the flag until its honored stripes have been worn into tatters, or you may cover the waters of Luzon with a new navy, but you will not increase our trade one whit, unless you have the economic advantages above enumerated; and, if we have them, we will inevitably have the trade with or without the army and navy. When our ability to compete in foreign markets is proved, then there our trade will go, and later our protecting flag will follow.

If, then, there is so little real gain to be made out of the Philippine trade, to whom would the expansion of our territory be profitable? It is quite clear that the great body of our laboring men could not continue to live in that climate, and that there is no future there for them. They can have no lust of conquest, because from them are recruited the brave rank and file who are always paying the cost of war with precious lives. Moreover, on them falls a heavy part of the cost of war and expansion. The hundreds of millions of dollars which the Philippine islands are costing us must be partly paid for by the new taxes, and by taxes on our shoes, our clothing, our hats and

on our tools of industry. If, then, the laboring class and the taxpayer must pay for this war, who gains? I answer: Only the few favored ones who may obtain public office or concessions for banks, special franchises to build and operate street railways and other similar commercial privileges. That is, the workingmen and the taxpayer are to be impudently asked to offer their lives and property that the favored few may have a few more chances to fill their purses. How long will we go on patiently submitting to this exploitation of the country for the good of those who are influential in politics?

Commercialism has sunk its fangs deep enough into our political life. It cannot go much further without stirring the righteous indignation of justice-loving Americans. Too long has public office been given not to selected fitness, but to service in advancement of personal ambitions. Great fortunes, rather than great statesmanship, too often fill the senate. Arrogant wealth buys legislation, which should be as cheap for the frugal consumer as for the powerful producer. We send up an appeal—which will be followed by a shout of approval from the American electorate—for equality in treatment of all, both rich and poor, and for justice to the weak, whether white or brown.

I have shown that we would have no more trade by owning the islands than we would have without, since our success in foreign markets depends upon home conditions; that the only commercial gains by conquest go to the few at the expense of the workingmen and the taxpayer; and that if we could buy more trade at the expense of human life it would be immoral.

They tell us that we must go on with the war until the Filipinos are thoroughly subjugated. It is as if a great bully should be allowed to go on beating a child until the victim is helpless. No, I say, stay the blows of war until we know that right aims the blow. You know, everyone knows, that if we were to say to the Filipinos that our flag is there as a symbol of protection, that we are there solely to ensure them a free and independent government, war would cease instantly, not another life would be sacrificed. But what is really meant when it is said that the war

must go on until the natives are crushed, is this: We insist upon assuming that we have a right to govern the Filipinos in our way, against their will; that we will make them acknowledge that by force; hence go on with the war to show that we are big and strong enough to force them to be governed against their longings for freedom and independence. Further war is unnecessary except on the assumption that we have no intention to give them an independent government. Approach the problem anyway you please, it ever harks back to a question whether it is our policy to subjugate, or to free, the islanders. We are opposed to all further war because we are opposed to the subjugation of the people under a foreign yoke; we propose a cessation of slaughter because we believe that the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent," under a protection by the United States which will save them from foreign aggression.

They tell us there is nothing now to be done. Is it nothing to change war to peace? Is it nothing to stay the horrible slaughter of natives? Is it nothing to stop the operations by which our brave fellow-citizens are killed by bullets and by even more deadly disease? The assumption that the war is inevitable is gratuitous. If we have not promised the natives a free and independent government, it is our imperative duty to try that at once. That is the crux of the whole matter. So, when they tell us there is nothing now to be done, I say the principal thing remains to be done—to assure the Filipinos as to the policy of the United States in regard to their liberty. When Burke was thundering in the commons for the conciliation of the colonies, King George held that nothing could be done until the American colonists were subdued. Had King George granted us local self-government there would have been no War of the Revolution. There was a great deal that King George might have done that he did not do. Indeed, there is a great deal for the United States to do, now and at once, in the Philippines, unless we wish to repeat the obstinacy of the house of Hanover.

They tell us we are disloyal, if we do not agree with any and every policy of conquest which may be arranged for us by the government; that we should not

increase the difficulties of a bad situation; that we should not shake the arm of the man when he is taking aim.* If a loyal soldier saw a column of our army defiling down by mistake into the wrong road, which led to disaster, would he be more or less loyal if he held his peace and uttered no word of warning? If I saw my brother in an excess of feeling striking a child, should I hold his arm to prevent the heavy blow which meant horrible and irremediable murder? Would I show more or less love and loyalty to him by withholding my dissuading voice, my preventing arm? Is it disloyal to keep our nation in the path of honor? We who love our country most, wish most that its flag shall be unstained. It is subversive of free institutions to assume that the government is above criticism. When we act on the supposition that the President can do no wrong, we have a king and not a president—and the republic is dead. Ours are republican, not monarchical institutions. We do not intend to allow militarism to dominate our civic institutions as they

*We have not waited until the war is over to make our protest, because silence is taken as an approval; and when the system has been fastened upon us, then there will be no use in protesting. The servants of the people have created a condition, and claim immunity from criticism against that which they have created. My position is that of Abraham Lincoln, Jan. 12, 1848, who oposed the Mexican war begun by the President. (Addresses and Letters of Abraham Lincoln. Century Company edition of complete works, Vol. I., 100).

"Some if not all the gentlemen on the other side of the house who have addressed the committee within the last two days have spoken rather complainingly, if I have rightly understood them, of the vote given a week or ten days ago, declaring that the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. I admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party wantonness, and that the one given is justly censurable, if it have no other better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the truth of the case. How I got this impression, and how it may possibly be remedied, I will now try to show. When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously oppose the conduct of the President in the beginning of it, should nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent on that point, at least until the war should be ended. Some leading Democrats, including ex-President Van Buren, have taken the same view, as I understand them; and I adhered to it and acted upon it until since I took my seat here; and I think I should still adhere to it were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. Besides the continual effort of the President to argue every silent vote given for supplies into an indorsement of the justice and wisdom of his conduct," etc.

Mr. Lincoln also hits at the center of our present situation when he speaks (p. 106) of the attempt "to involve the two countries in a war, trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood," etc.

have in France (in the Dreyfus case) to the humiliation of our sister republic.

The president of the United States declared at Atlanta, Dec. 15, 1898, that the "flag has been planted in two hemispheres, where it remains the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its protecting folds? Who will pull it down?" In South Carolina officers of the United States are today seeking to convict those who shot down the wife and infant babe of the colored postmaster at Lake City. The flag protects those over whom it floats; to the negroes it is a symbol of liberty and law. In the Philippines we are not hounding colored natives with the bloodhounds of anti-slavery days, but mowing them down with rapid-fire guns—"nigger hunting," it is gruesomely expressed. The flag there does not protect those over whom it floats. It is there, to the Filipinos, the emblem of tyranny and butchery.* I read—for what it is worth—from a letter written by Charles Brenner of Minneapolis, Kansas, on the attack at Caloocan by the Kansas regiment: "Company I had taken a few prisoners and stopped. The colonel ordered them up into line time after time, and finally

*I used the word "tyranny" because the flag is there wrongly made to represent an un-American policy of conquest for the subjugation of an inferior race, against their will, by a great and powerful nation. I said "butchery," because the indiscriminate slaughter of natives by offensive military operations in an unholy war of subjugation can be called by no other name. I am not attacking the flag, but a policy—a policy which makes our honored flag stand in the Philippines for conquest and subjugation.

I am more truly loyal to the flag when I demand that it shall be used only as a symbol of liberty than those who are willing to see the flag wave as the emblem of expansion and conquest. It is strange that thoughtless intolerance can go so far as to fail to distinguish between my loyalty to the flag and my loyalty to a policy which dishonors the flag. I wish it to be understood that I yield to no man in my admiration for the bravery of the men and the skill of the officers in the army and navy.

The principles on which I found my objection to the policy of subjugation are thus stated by Abraham Lincoln (sent me from Kansas by a Republican soldier of the civil war):

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism." (Speech of Oct. 16, 1854). "Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God they cannot long retain it." (Letter to H. L. Pierce, April 6, 1859).

sent Captain Bishop back to start them. There occurred the hardest sight I ever saw. They had four prisoners and didn't know what to do with them. They asked Captain Bishop what to do, and he said: 'You know the orders,' and four natives fell dead."* Who will rescue the flag from such desecration? Why, who else but those who put it there? In the name of the humanity for which we went to war we call upon them to save our flag from dishonor. The common-sense of the people knows that the flag cannot be immediately withdrawn; but the moral sense of the people demands that so long as it remains there its protecting folds shall provide for white and brown alike a free and independent government and assurance from outside aggression. We demand that our public men should be men of conviction, that they should be vertebrates not mollusks.

LIBERTY OR DESPOTISM.

Address of Edwin Burritt Smith.

It is high time to inquire, To what end do we continue Spanish methods in the Philippines? Why this terrible sacrifice of American lives? By what authority has Mr. McKinley sent forces, recruited to win

*The parents of Charles Brenner live in Bennington, Kan., twelve miles from Minneapolis, Kan. This letter was handed by Brennan's father to Mr. A. P. Riddle, editor of the Minneapolis (Kan.) Messenger (Ottawa Co.).

Captain Bishop (now major), who is regarded as a man of character by his neighbors, says in a letter dated "Caloocan Battlefield, March 1st," and published in the Republican-Journal, of Salina, Kan.: "The insurgents have not fired on us since last night, and I understand an attempt is being made to patch things up. My idea of the way is to kill the whole outfit, and blow the island out of existence."

The soldiers are not responsible for orders given by superiors. But the incident in Brenner's letter is similar to one described by Harry P. Todd, Company M (the same company to which Brenner belonged), 20th Kansas Regiment, in a letter dated February 24th, at Caloocan, and printed in The Republican-Journal, of Salina, Kan., April 12, 1899: "Somehow or other some of the insurgents got around our line at the end of the bay and got back to town. There were 150 of them, and they captured our short line train and depot, and drove the guards back. That was at 4 o'clock yesterday morning, and by daylight the inside, or town guard, marched out toward our lines with **ORDERS TO GIVE NO QUARTER TO ANY FILIPINO**, and the guard marched straight along, killing every insurgent that poked his head in view. At one place they killed fifty and in all 180."

liberty for Cuba, to wage war against liberty in Asia? Why has he sent brave men to death wondering "What are we fighting for?" Why this awful slaughter of natives? To what purpose have we taken upon ourselves the burden of excessive taxation in perpetuity? For what sufficient reason, after more than a century of unparalleled achievement, have we become unfaithful to the traditions and principles which have made America distinctive among the nations of the world? Why do we allow our chosen representatives to assume arbitrary power? Why do we permit the establishment of a dual government at Washington, half representative and half despotic? To what end do we destroy the character of our institutions in a vain effort to share them with alien races?

These inquiries involve vastly more than a few petty additions to our trade or even the welfare of the people of some remote islands. In the language of Senator Hoar, they involve "a greater danger than we have encountered since the pilgrims landed at Plymouth—the danger that we are to be transformed from a republic, founded on the declaration of independence, guided by the counsels of Washington, into a vulgar, commonplace empire, founded upon physical force."

True, Mr. McKinley says that "no imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment, thought and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. They go with the flag."

These are fine phrases; but we shall do well, as Mr. Boutwell suggests, not to confuse the issue with what Mr. McKinley says. The inquiry must be confined to what he does. What he and others have said, aided by his military censor, has too long diverted public attention from the deep significance of the facts. That an administration, chosen to save the country from financial chaos on a platform which as to foreign policy merely promised carefully to watch and guard "all our interests in the western hemisphere" and employ the "influence and good offices" of the United States "to restore peace and give independence" to Cuba, should so far commit the country to a dangerous and revolutionary policy is itself a gross betrayal of the principle of representative government.

The imperial policy being new to us, none has arisen to defend it on the merits. We are, however, assured by Mr. McKinley that the "Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted to our hands by the providence of God." If this is true, Providence made a poor delivery of the corpus of the trust. What we have is a mere quitclaim of a disputed title to property adversely possessed. Destiny, to say nothing of Providence, usually does much better in transferring territory from the weak to the strong.

It is widely urged that the chance location of a naval battle, even the hoisting of a flag without authority, has imposed upon us "a white man's burden" from which we may not without dishonor escape. If such are the consequences of unpremeditated action, we should pray to be delivered from naval victories and flag raisings.

The claim is also pressed that by the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila bay we at once became responsible for public order in the Philippines and especially for the lives and property of foreigners resident there. We know how a few widows as stockholders of corporations are made to do duty in their defense against the righteous claims of the public. In the same way a few foreigners in Manila are made an excuse for a great injustice to a vast native population. Foreigners in whatever country subject themselves and their property to its laws and protection. Their residence is from choice and they cannot complain if accorded such security as the people of the country enjoy.

It is a bold assumption that the Filipinos will loot and murder. They have not done so. The only breach of public order since the close of the Spanish war has been in fact due to our presence in the islands. Our authority has at no time extended beyond the range of our guns. We have for some months held 200 square miles of territory having a population of about 300,000. As for the remaining 200,000 miles of territory, with a population of perhaps 8,000,000, public order has been maintained for months by the people themselves. Beyond our lines, upon the testimony of our own officers, good order has prevailed and life and property have been secure. The shameful

truth is that desolation and ruin mark the character and limits of our influence in the islands.

It was said of Caesar that he killed 1,000,000 Germans, created a solitude and called it peace. Under the ghastly pretense of extending "the blessings of civilization" we are today carrying death and ruin into the country of a peaceful people. In the name of humanity and public order, in the name of civilization, in the defense of our own honor, even in the sacred cause of religion, we have assumed the role of bloody crusaders and let loose the hell hounds of aggressive war. When we have turned the Filipinos into corpses we shall pronounce them pacified.

To kill, save in self-defense, is murder. To drive away women and children and burn their houses is outrage and arson. By this code we measure the conduct of the individual. Are these crimes less criminal when committed by a nation? Is war, except for national self-preservation, aught but the most monstrous of crimes?

The war against the Filipinos has not even the poor excuse of legal authority. It is no part of the war against Spain. It was not declared by congress. A number of our wars with inferior races are known in history by personal names. To King Philip's war and others of this class must be added William McKinley's war.

The vital defect in Mr. McKinley's policy lies in his purpose to extend American sovereignty over an alien and unwilling people. The contention that our will, not theirs, shall be done in the Philippines runs counter to the law of our being as a nation. Our government rests upon the proposition that the right of self-government is inherent in every people and cannot become the subject of grant. All its powers are delegated by the people. It is without power graciously to grant to the Filipinos such measure of self-government as it shall from time to time deem them fit to enjoy.

The Tribune this morning says that this meeting is to announce that "the American people cannot be trusted to give the Filipinos a just government." The reply to this is, that it is not the duty of the American people to give government, whether just or otherwise,

to anybody. Their own government is organized to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, to enable them to govern themselves, and not as a source of any kind of government whatever.

Self-government has never fallen upon a people like a manna from above. It has everywhere been a self-achievement, a growth from within, not a deposit from without. If the Filipinos are really to be free, they must achieve freedom for themselves. Their right is to work their own way to self-government free from outside interference.

We forget that the Filipinos may not wish to be as we are, that a people may be happy and even prosperous under institutions unlike our own, and that even our duty to civilization may not require us to become benevolent assimilators of inferior races. In our desire to impose our institutions upon this alien people we disregard their right to govern—yea, even to misgovern—themselves. We have suddenly become strangely sensitive to danger to life and property, especially the lives and property of a handful of foreigners, in the Philippines. It seems that supposed and self-assumed duty to civilization requires us at once to secure in the islands a degree of security for life and property which prevails nowhere on this continent south of Mexico, a security which does not prevail at this moment in all parts of our own land. Had we insisted in 1865 on guarantees of public order in Mexico, Maximilian would have remained its emperor. Mr. Seward at that time correctly stated our true position in urging the principle which “the United States hold in relation to all other nations,” that “they have neither a right nor any disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to maintain a republican or even a despotic government there, or to overthrow an imperial or a foreign one, if Mexico shall choose to establish it or accept it;” and he finally insisted upon the withdrawal of the French troops solely upon the ground that we would not permit the establishment of a foreign government in Mexico against the will of the Mexican people.

Forcible annexation of the Philippines can no more be thought of in 1899 than in 1898. What would

have been "criminal aggression" last year is criminal aggression this year. It is as true at the close of the nineteenth century as it was at the end of the eighteenth that taxation without representation is tyranny and that force cannot be employed as a chief instrument in the government of a free people. The Filipinos must themselves choose; for us to impose upon them a government would be rank disloyalty to our most cherished principles.

The powers that shall henceforth be exercised in the government of the Philippine islands must come from their people or from Washington. Such powers have neither been delegated nor can they be delegated to Mr. McKinley. The powers which he has thus far exercised in his personal crusade in behalf of trade and religion are self-assumed and despotic in character.

The constitution makes no provision for the forcible intervention by our government in the affairs of a people who do not form an integral part of the union. To the extent we permit our chosen representatives to exercise arbitrary powers, whether at home or abroad, we allow them to sap and destroy representative government itself. Mr. McKinley is introducing at Washington the principles and methods of absolutism. He mistakes a passion for power, which is as old as despotism, for the currents of destiny. There are currents of destiny, but they set toward human freedom and away from despotism. If we, the people, are to continue to rule even at home, we must reject the despot and his methods, although they come to us uttering fine phrases about benevolent assimilation, priceless principles, and hoisted flags.

At this moment in our country, in our own city, the right of free men—whose duty it is to pass upon the acts of their official servants—to know the truth and to utter their protest is questioned. The word "rebel" is freely applied to men who never owed allegiance to the United States. The spirit of impatience of constitutional processes has already reached the stage in which the words "treason" and "traitor" are made to do duty in defense of arbitrary power. The question is squarely presented, shall ours become a government of men instead of a government of laws?

The powers which Mr. McKinley claims in the Philippines cannot be exercised by a government which is merely representative.

Despotic power has already appeared at Washington, there to compete with delegated authority for final supremacy. These forces are as old as history. They cannot exist together. Our choice lies between them.

DEMOCRACY OR TYRANNY.

Address of Sigmund Zeisler.

For the last few weeks the jingo press throughout the country took up the cry that those who express their opposition to the slaughter in the Philippines are guilty of treason and should be dealt with accordingly. American citizens, do you realize what this means? Is the voice of truth to be stifled? Are we to become the slavish worshipers of our elected servants? Are we to be deprived of the freedom of speech, of the privilege of peaceable assemblage, of the right to deliberate for our common welfare? As yet such reactionary proposals do not meet with the approval of the government. But the mere fact that the supposed mouthpieces of public opinion can utter such a despicable suggestion, proves the demoralizing, the degenerating, the degrading influence of imperialism. We cannot violate the eternal principle of liberty in the far East without at the same time striking a blow at our Democracy at home. Today the exercise of our constitutional right of free speech is called treason, tomorrow it may be called lese-majesty. The imperialism of today may be the militarism of tomorrow and the Caesarism of the day after tomorrow.

For more than a century the people of this country have consecrated their best efforts to the cultivation of the arts of peace, to the pursuit of civic virtues, to the successful solution of the problem of popular government. Who is guilty of treason now? We who demand that our people shall steadfastly pursue this course of national virtue and continue to build upon

the noble foundation laid by the great architects of our republic, or those who would egg us on to adventurous wars, to land-grabbing expeditions, to a crusade against liberty, to the vast increase of our burdens of taxation, to the wanton sacrifice of American lives, to the spoliation and destruction of an innocent people, to the overthrow of our own best traditions? They tell us that manifest destiny has guided our course. The cry of manifest destiny is a cowardly evasion of responsibility. The statement that duty determines destiny is a meaningless and hollow phrase. It begs the whole question as to what our duty was and is. Destiny, indeed! A destiny begotten to order, a destiny which is the bastard child of blatant jingoism and mercenary commercialism!

They tell us that the Filipinos are rebels and that it is right to shoot them down as such. Rebels? Since when do the Filipinos owe allegiance to our flag? Perhaps since we purchased them of Spain and paid two dollars a head for them? What right had Spain to sell them to us? Spain's title to the Philippines was clouded by a century of revolt against her misrule and oppression, a title as bad and as full of flaws as that to Cuba, of which we declared a year ago that she is and of right ought to be free and independent. And what right did we have to purchase the Filipinos? What right have we to force upon them our rule? Woe to the day on which a majority of the American people will have forgotten the solemn declaration of the builders of our nation that all men are created equal, that among the inalienable rights of man are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Woe to the day when the American people will be prepared to deny that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

But they tell us the Filipinos have misunderstood our motives; no designs upon their territory were lurking in the imperialistic heart; we were guided by the purest philanthropy. Away with such hypocrisy! Away with such sanctimonious declarations that are belied by our every act! The truth is that the national administration, misled into the false belief that such a course would be popular, coveted the possession of the Philippines as a permanent colony. The truth was

half admitted by Secretary Gage, when, in a speech in the South last fall, he stated that our policy in the Philippines was "philanthropy and five per cent." Philanthropy and five per cent! A philanthropy so passionate that in our iron embrace the object of our tender love is hugged to death. And five per cent? Where do they come in? The advantages of owning the Philippines are most problematical. Not in a hundred years could they repay the bare cost of subjugating them and keeping them in subjection. And so we shall turn out to be deceived deceivers.

Our attitude toward the Philippines was fundamentally wrong from the beginning. From the outset we treated them as spoils of war. The day after the battle of Manila the jingo press of the whole country set up in unison the howl: "Keep the Philippines! Keep the Philippines!" Was this the voice of humanity? Was it philanthropy that spoke? It was base selfishness and lust of conquest. By and by we woke up to the fact that we could not keep what we did not yet have. And so we made an alliance—yes, an alliance, with Aguinaldo and his followers. We treated them as our friends. We counseled with them. We made them shed their blood in crushing our common foe. Our General Anderson as late as July 6th addressed Aguinaldo as "Your Excellency," and asked his advice and co-operation. Our consuls at Singapore and Hongkong, claiming to represent our government, had given the Filipino general, before he started for Manila, every assurance of the speedy recognition of his people's independence in return for his assistance. While these consuls were secretly rebuked by Secretary Day, Aguinaldo was treacherously kept in ignorance of the true attitude of our government. It was Aguinaldo and not our army that destroyed Spain's land power in the Philippines. Then came the negotiations for peace, and the imperialists howled: "Take the Philippines! Take the Philippines!" Dewey sent to Paris his testimony to the effect that the nearly three millions native inhabitants of Luzon are gentle, docile, and, under just laws and with the benefits of popular education, would soon make good citizens, and he added that they are far superior in their intelli-

gence and more capable of self-government than the Cubans. All the unbiased evidence of the most competent observers agrees with Dewey's estimate of the Filipino character. The truth about these people has been studiously kept from our citizens. The fact is that throughout the island of Luzon, except Manila, orderly elections were held in the fall of '98, a congress was convened comparing in its composition most favorably with many of our state legislatures, a constitution was adopted based upon enlightened principles, and a government set up that left little to be desired. The Filipino republic desired to be heard in the deliberations of the peace commissioners at Paris. But their agents were treated with scorn. And while we had Spain relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba, we made her cede and sell the Philippines to us. Then came the president's proclamation establishing military government, treating the archipelago as our possessions even before the treaty was ratified, and announcing to the Filipinos that they must submit or be shot. And the jingo press echoed: "Submit or be shot!" Aguinaldo all this while was given by Otis the cold, stony stare. And yet he had confidence in the virtue of the American republic. He hoped and prayed that we would allow his people to enjoy independence under an American protectorate. From day to day they waited for an official declaration by the congress of the United States, disclaiming the intention to exercise permanent sovereignty over the Philippine islands and assuring them of independence at some time in the future. But one after another of the many resolutions introduced tending to commit our country to this just course was voted down. Finally, on the eve of the ratification of the peace treaty, which was to settle the fate of the Filipinos adversely to their wishes, some shots were exchanged between the American and Filipino lines. Which side fired first is a disputed question. May be the rash hand of some Filipino, goaded on to desperation by our contemptuous treatment, sent the first shot into our lines. Aguinaldo at once disclaimed responsibility and was still anxious for peace. But Otis haughtily refused to listen to him. A rebellion was the very thing which our administration needed most urgently

just then to cause a stampede for the ratification of the peace treaty, which looked rather dubious. From that day on to this we had in those unfortunate isles the hell of war, whose grewsome details we have read from day to day with growing indignation and disgust.

Meanwhile our reputation for philanthropy has suffered severely every day. We have loaded so much humanity into our guns and rifles that our supply is well nigh exhausted. Our work of pacification has been most effective. Every day several hundred wretched Filipinos were dispatched into that peaceful valley whence there is no return. But the pacification in our own ranks was hardly less rapid. The Filipinos are not such past masters as we are in the art of administering hypodermic injections of humanity, but they have in their pacification business powerful allies in the climate and condition of their soil, harmless to them but deadly to our soldiers—poor, courageous, generous, noble boys! They are fighting gallantly in a cause that cannot appeal to them. They bravely and without murmur obey orders when their hearts must be bleeding with sympathy for the struggle of those whom they assault. Heaven grant that we may have seen the last of this inhuman and un-American struggle! If peace is not now assured, what has preceded will be child's play compared with what is to follow during the summer season. It will not then be a question of bravery and superior intelligence of our soldier boys. For the burning rays of a tropical sun, the drenching showers of fever-laden clouds, the blighting breath of pestilential morasses will be the silent partners fighting on the side of the Filipinos. We may crush them, bring them to their knees, and still eternal right and justice are on their side, and sooner or later we must suffer the consequences of our criminal aggression. For our war against the Filipinos gives the lie to our professions and history for 120 years, it repudiates the principles of our declaration of independence, it condemns the guiding motives of our war of emancipation, it undermines the groundwork of our national existence, it is opposed to the teachings of Washington, of Jefferson and of our own immortal Lincoln.

Our bungling course has already produced irreparable damage. The glamor of victory will not dry the tears of the mothers, widows and orphans whose dead are buried in Asiatic soil. The survivors of our army will bring home filthy diseases that will taint the blood of coming generations. But the greatest damage is to our national honor, to our reputation as a humane, freedom-loving and Christian nation. The yellow press are frantic with delight because the poor Filipinos are begging for peace. But have they counted the cost of this victory, if victory it should turn out to be? I am reminded of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, after defeating the Romans in a fierce battle with enormous losses in his own ranks, cried out: "One more such victory and I am lost." I love my country as I love my life, but I say: Heaven grant that America be saved from more such victorious wars! Heaven grant that there shall be no further descent on the toboggan slide of national degradation!

Some time ago the imperialists began to realize what a mess they had made of this whole miserable business. The dread reality of the situation awakened them from their dream of aggrandizement. The administration, I am informed, has been anxious for some time to let go of the Philippines, but were praying for somebody to show them how. Will they take the opportunity offered by Aguinaldo's seeking peace? Or will our pious imperialists say that the "god of battles," who has given them victory, has bid them put their iron heels upon the necks of the vanquished? There is yet time to make honorable amends. Let not foolish pride or the consideration of politics keep this great nation from acknowledging that imperialism is an awful mistake for us. Let justice be done though the heavens fall. Let us have no thought of treating the Philippines as a subject colony. Let congress at the earliest practicable moment pledge this country to the recognition of the independence of the Filipinos upon just terms and conditions and as soon as they can establish an orderly government. Let us, by diplomatic agencies, procure the common consent of nations to keep hands off the islands. Let us stand by them, not as their rulers, but as their friends, while they need our protection and while they recover from

the wounds we have inflicted. If we do this we shall yet be able to procure all the commercial advantages which the ownership of these islands could possibly secure to us without any of the burdens of governing them. Let them be happy in their own way and let us not enforce upon them happiness according to our standard. Let us remember our own struggle for independence and have sympathy with them in theirs. Let us not in Asia make distinctions of race and color which our fathers have shed their blood to stamp out at home.

What William Lloyd Garrison said in the cause of abolition is equally true today in the cause of anti-imperialism :

They tell me, Liberty! that in thy name
I may not plead for all the human race,
That some are born to bondage and disgrace—
So, to a heritage of woe and shame—
And some to power supreme, and glorious fame.
With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base
And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
All people, and for all fair freedom claim.
Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate,
God never made a tyrant nor a slave;
Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate
His glorious image—for to all He gave
Eternal rights which none may violate,
And by a mighty hand the oppressed He yet shall
save.

DEMOCRACY OR MILITARISM.

Address of Miss Jane Addams.

None of us who has been reared and nurtured in America can be wholly without the democratic instinct. It is not a question with any of us of having it or not having it; it is merely a question of trusting it or not trusting it. For good or ill we suddenly find ourselves bound to an international situation. The question practically reduces itself to this: Do we

mean to democratize the situation? Are we going to trust our democracy, or are we going to weakly imitate the policy of other governments, which have never claimed a democratic basis?

The political code, as well as the moral law, has no meaning and becomes absolutely emptied of its contents if we take out of it all relation to the world and concrete cases, and it is exactly in such a time as this that we discover what we really believe. We may make a mistake in politics as well as in morals by forgetting that new conditions are ever demanding the evolution of a new morality, along old lines but in larger measure. Unless the present situation extends our nationalism into internationalism, unless it has thrust forward our patriotism into humanitarianism we cannot meet it.

We must also remember that peace has come to mean a larger thing. It is no longer merely absence of war, but the unfolding of life processes which are making for a common development. Peace is not merely something to hold congresses about and to discuss as an abstract dogma. It has come to be a rising tide of moral feeling, which is slowly engulfing all pride of conquest and making war impossible.

Under this new conception of peace it is perhaps natural that the first men to formulate it and give it international meaning should have been workingmen, who have always realized, however feebly and vaguely they may have expressed it, that it is they who in all ages have borne the heaviest burden of privation and suffering imposed on the world by the military spirit.

The first international organization founded not to promote a colorless peace, but to advance and develop the common life of all nations was founded in London in 1864 by workingmen and called simply "The International Association of Workingmen." They recognized that a supreme interest raised all workingmen above the prejudice of race, and united them by wider and deeper principles than those by which they were separated into nations. That as religion, science, art, had become international, so now at last labor took its position as an international interest. A few years later, at its third congress, held

in Brussels in 1868, the internationals recommended in view of the Franco-German war, then threatening, that "the workers resist all war as systematic murder," and in case of war a universal strike be declared.

This is almost exactly what is now happening in Russia. The peasants are simply refusing to drill and fight and the czar gets credit for a peace manifesto the moral force of which comes from the humblest of his subjects. It is not, therefore, surprising that as long ago as last December, the organized workingmen of America recorded their protest against the adoption of an imperialistic policy.

In the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held that month in Kansas City, resolutions were adopted indorsing the declaration made by President Gompers in his opening address: "It has always been the hewers of wood and the carriers of water, the wealth producers, whose mission it has been not only to struggle for freedom, but to be ever vigilant to maintain the liberty of freedom achieved, and it behooves the representatives of the grand army of labor in convention assembled to give vent to the alarm we feel from the dangers threatening us and our entire people, to enter our solemn and emphatic protest against what we already feel; that, with the success of imperialism the decadence of our republic will have already set in."

There is a growing conviction among workingmen of all countries that, whatever may be accomplished by a national war, however high the supposed moral aim of such a war, there is one inevitable result—an increased standing army, the soldiers of which are non-producers and must be fed by the workers. The Russian peasants support an army of 1,000,000, the German peasants sow and reap for 500,000 more. The men in these armies spend their muscular force in drilling, their mental force in thoughts of warfare. The mere hours of idleness conduce mental and moral deterioration.

The appeal to the fighting instinct does not end in mere warfare, but arouses these brutal instincts latent in every human being. The countries with the large standing armies are likewise the countries with national hospitals for the treatment of diseases which

should never exist, of large asylums for the care of children which should never have been born. These institutions, as well as the barracks, again increase the taxation, which rests, in the last analysis, upon producers, and, at the same time, withdraws so much of their product from the beneficent development of their national life. No one urges peaceful association with more fervor than the workingman. Organization is his only hope, but it must be kept distinct from militarism, which can never be made a democratic instrument.

Let us not make the mistake of confusing moral issues sometimes involved in warfare with warfare itself. Let us not glorify the brutality. The same strenuous endeavor, the same heroic self-sacrifice, the same fine courage and readiness to meet death, may be displayed without the accompaniment of killing our fellow men. With all Kipling's insight he has, over and over, failed to distinguish between war and imperialism on the one hand and the advance of civilization on the other.

To "protect the weak" has always been the excuse of the ruler and tax-gatherer, the chief, the king, the baron; and now, at last, of "the white man." The form of government is not necessarily the function itself. Government is not something extraneous, consisting of men who wear gold lace and sit on high stools and write rows of figures in books. We forget that an ideal government is merely an adjustment between men concerning their mutual relations towards those general matters which concern them all; that the office of an outside and alien people must always be to collect taxes and to hold a negative law and order. In its first attempt to restore mere order and quiet, the outside power inevitably breaks down the framework of the nascent government itself, the more virile and initiative forces are destroyed; new relations must in the end be established, not only with the handicap of smart animosity on the part of the conquered, but with the loss of the most able citizens among them.

Some of us were beginning to hope that we were getting away from the ideals set by the civil war, that we had made all the presidents we could from men who had distinguished themselves in that war, and

were coming to seek another type of man. That we were ready to accept the peace ideal, to be proud of our title as a peace nation; to recognize that the man who cleans a city is greater than he who bombards it, and the man who irrigates a plain greater than he who lays it waste. Then came the Spanish war, with its gilt and lace and tinsel, and again the moral issues are confused with exhibitions of brutality.

For ten years I have lived in a neighborhood which is by no means criminal, and yet during last October and November we were startled by seven murders within a radius of ten blocks. A little investigation of details and motives, the accident of a personal acquaintance with two of the criminals, made it not in the least difficult to trace the murders back to the influence of the war. Simple people who read of carnage and bloodshed easily receive its suggestions. Habits of self-control which have been but slowly and imperfectly acquired quickly break down under the stress.

Psychologists intimate that action is determined by the selection of the subject upon which the attention is habitually fixed. The newspapers, the theatrical posters, the street conversations for weeks had to do with war and bloodshed. The little children on the street played at war, day after day, killing Spaniards. The humane instinct, which keeps in abeyance the tendency to cruelty, the growing belief that the life of each human being—however hopeless or degraded, is still sacred—gives way, and the barbaric instinct asserts itself.

It is doubtless only during a time of war that the men and women of Chicago could tolerate whipping for children in our city prison, and it is only during such a time that the introduction in the legislature of a bill for the re-establishment of the whipping post could be possible. National events determine our ideals, as much as our ideals determine national events.

REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE.

Address of Bishop Spalding.

The rise and fall of nations as of individuals are determined by moral causes. The convictions of mankind are but feebly influenced by reason. Our ethics, politics and religions never spring from what is wholly rational. To a greater or less extent we are all victims of passion and prejudice, are swayed by interests that are selfish and motives that are unworthy. The wise and the good therefore subject themselves to ceaseless self-criticism, so does a noble and generous people. The habit of reflection, of considering seriously and dispassionately whatever grave situation is presented is a mark of maturity; it is an evidence of self-control, of the prevalence of the true self, which is constituted by obedience to what is right and good and becoming.

It is to the power of returning upon itself that a people owes its conservative strength, its ability, in the midst of whatever events, to hold steadfastly to the principles by which its life is nourished. We are at present in the midst of a crisis in which lack of thought and deliberation may lead us far from the ideals which as Americans we have most cherished and expose us to evils of which we scarcely dream. We stand at the parting of the ways. It is not yet too late to turn from the way which leads through war and conquest to imperialism, to standing armies, to alliances with foreign powers and finally to the disruption of the union itself. It is not too late, because it is still possible, probable even, that the American people will reconsider the whole question of the complications in which our victories over Spain have involved us, and, calling to mind the fact that they did not enter into this war for the purpose of becoming an empire, but for the purpose of helping others to throw off the yoke of a tyrannical imperialism, will see that to be blinded and led away by success is to be weak and foolish, or, rather, since here the highest interests of humanity are at stake, is to be wicked and criminal. If this may

not be, then the American people have degenerated, they have lost their hold upon the historical causes and the political habits which led to the founding of our institutions and to the marvelous growth and prosperity of our country. But we judge of a man's wisdom by his hope—

Hope, the paramount duty which leaves laws

For its own honor or man's suffering heart.

Therefore, we shall not believe that the gaining of a few naval battles over a weak and unprepared foe have power to throw us into such enthusiasm or such madness as to turn us permanently from the principles and policies to which we owe our national existence, our life and liberty; or that destiny, the divinity of fatalists and materialists, can weaken our faith in the God of justice, righteousness and love, who scorns and thrusts far away those who, having the giants' strength, use it to oppress or destroy the weak and ignorant.

"We have never looked upon ourselves as predestined to subdue the earth, to compel other nations, with sword and shell, to accept our rule. We have always believed in human rights, in freedom and opportunity, in education and religion, and we have invited all men to come and enjoy these blessings in this half of the world which God has given us; but we have never dreamed that they were articles to be exported and thrust down unwilling throats at the point of the bayonet. We have sympathized with all oppressed peoples—with Ireland, Greece, Armenia, Cuba. To emancipate the slave we gladly sacrificed the lives of hundreds of thousands of our soldiers. And now the American soldier, who should never shoulder a gun except in a righteous cause, is sent 10,000 miles across the ocean to shoot men whose real crime is that they wish to be free—wish to govern themselves. To say that they are unfit for freedom is to put forth the plea of the tyrant in all ages and everywhere. The enemies of liberty have never lacked for pretexts to justify their wrongs; but, in truth, at the root of all wars of conquest there lies lust for blood or for gold.

If the inhabitants of the Philippines came gladly to throw themselves into our arms we should refuse to

do more than counsel, guide and protect them until they form themselves into a stable and independent government. What, then, is to be thought of those who seem resolved either to rule or exterminate them, believing, probably, that the only good Filipino is a dead Filipino?

A war of conquest is in contradiction with our fundamental principles of government; it is opposed to all our traditions. The thought of ruling over subject peoples is repugnant to our deepest and noblest sentiments. It is part of our good fortune or our providential position in the world that our country is vast enough and self-sufficient enough to make all desire for conquest an unholy and meaningless temptation. We have room for 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 of human beings. If more are required and we are true to ourselves British America will come to us without there being need of firing a gun. We have money enough already and our wealth is increasing rapidly. What we have to learn is how to live, how to distribute our money, how to take from it its mastery over us and make it our servant.

Our capital is fast becoming the most inhuman, the most iniquitous tyrant the world has ever known. Its tyranny is a blight and curse to those who exercise it as well as to the multitude who are its victims. Commercial and manufacturing competition is becoming a struggle for existence fiercer than that which makes nature red in tooth and claw. Whereas the tendency of true civilization and religion is to convert the struggle for life into co-operation for life, into work of all for all that all may have those inner goods which make men wise, holy, beautiful and strong; whereas, this is the tendency of right civilization, our greed, our superstitious belief in money as the only true god and savior of man hurries us on with increasing speed into all the venalities, dishonesties and corruptions, into all the tricks and trusts by which the people are disheartened and impoverished. We are hypnotized by the glitter and glare, the pompous circumstances of wealth and are becoming incapable of a rational view of life. We have lost taste for simple things and simple ways. We flee from the country as from a desert and find self-forgetfulness only amid the noise and

rush of great cities, where high thought and pure affection are well-nigh impossible. How far we have drifted from that race of farmers who threw off the yoke of England and built the noble state, who believed that honor was better than money, freedom than luxury and display. Their plain democratic republic is no longer good enough for us. We are become imperial. We must have mighty armies and navies which shall encircle the earth to bring into subjection weak and unprotected savages and barbarians. Why? For glory? No. That is a standpoint we have left behind. For humanity? Wholesale murder is not humanity. Why? For money, more money, money without end. We are the victims of commercialism. We have caught the contagion of the insanity that the richest nations are the worthiest and most enduring. We have lost sight of the eternal principle that all freedom is inrooted in moral freedom, that riches are akin to fear and death, that by the soul only can a nation be great.

Spiritual gifts survive when the marts of commerce are deserted and are become the habitations of doubtful creatures. Money indeed is power, but it is power for good only when it belongs to the wise and the good. For the foolish, the prodigal, the sensual and the miserly it is a curse. A brave, honest and loving soul has higher worth than mountains of gold. He who knows that the good of life lies within, that it is capable of being cherished, loved and possessed more and more by whoever seeks it with all his mind and heart can never think that a nation's first duty is to spread its trade even at the loss of all that constitutes the true dignity of man, in multitudes of men and women who are degraded to the level of machinery. Personality is the highest and most sacred fact we know. By personalities religion and culture are created, propagated and preserved. When great souls are alive with great thoughts and profound emotions it is good to be on earth. Then God comes nearer and man is divine.

It had been our hope that in the latest birth of time we, the favored children of heaven, were to be providentially guided to nobler issues, that here the many should become what but a few have ever been—wise,

self-contained, generous, helpful and loving. But this hope is no longer cherished, this ideal lures us no more. We have become believers in destiny and destiny knows nothing of wisdom and goodness—it is nature's fatal sway, pitiless, blind, destroying, to rise above which has been the ceaseless effort of all heroes, saints and sages by which the race has been blessed and ennobled.

If it is our destiny to become an empire it is not our destiny to endure as a republic. Empire and imperialism are associated with kingly and arbitrary rule, with militarism and conquest. Was not the Roman empire built on the ruins of the republic? Was it not made possible by the general loss of virtue and patriotism, by the luxury and corruption which the stolen wealth of a hundred cities had spread through Rome? It is only when the inner sources of life run low that men rush madly to gain possession of external things. When the power of faith and hope and love is lost the animal in man's breast awakes and cries for blood or plunges into the slough of sensuality. When the real good of life escapes us money and what money buys seem to be all that is left. Then men become cowards, liars and thieves. They cringe and fawn and palter. They worship success. They call evil good and good evil. They have no convictions which are not lucrative, no opinions which are not profitable. Then all things are for sale, then demagogues are heroes, then opportunities for plunder are welcome, then the best policy is that which wins most votes and most money.

But we are told that imperialism has proved a blessing to Great Britain. In this matter there is no parity between England and the United States. Again and again England has been conquered by Romans, Saxon, Angle, Dane and Norman. As her population increased she became less and less able to feed her people without drawing her supplies from other countries, and to-day if she could be blockaded for six months she would starve. She is compelled, therefore, to have a navy as strong almost as that of all the other nations, and this has led her to make conquest after conquest until her empire encircles the earth. But these widely scattered dominions, though possi-

bly necessary for her existence as a first-class power, are for her a cause of weakness. Let her colonies but become dissatisfied and they will fall from her as easily as the ripe fruit falls from the bough. She governs them wisely, because only in this way can she govern them at all. It is hardly possible for an American to speak of England and not to feel grateful thoughts and kindly sentiments stir within his breast. To her largely we owe our liberties; to her our language; to her Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth; to her Bacon and Ruskin and Newman. Even in the war of independence our greatest men still retained a kind of affection for her, as among her statesmen our cause found some of its ablest and most eloquent advocates. And now that more than a century has elapsed we can easily forgive and forget the wrongs she did us, especially since they stirred us to assert and maintain our independence. Nevertheless, the more we hold aloof from England the better shall it be for America. She has not an ally in the world, and there is probably not a nation in the world which would trust her as an ally. She has never loved us from the days in which she oppressed the colonies to the dark days when by aiding the confederacy she sought to make the disruption of the union permanent. She does not love us now. We are the most dreaded rival she has, because we threaten her supremacy in what is nearest and dearest to her—her finances. She is confronted by difficulties and dangers of various kinds from which we are free. An alliance with her would involve us in the difficulties and dangers by which she is confronted and from which we are free. We need neither her advice nor her assistance. The praises which she now bestows on us, were they sincere, would be superfluous, but since they are given with the design of drawing us into an imperialistic policy and troublesome entanglements they are insidious and insulting. Our wisest statesmen have always been opposed to militarism as a menace to our liberties. We want nothing more than the nucleus of an army, nothing which shall serve as a means of conquest at home or abroad; and, for my own part, I think a powerful navy a danger rather than a protection. So long as we are content to de-

vote ourselves to the tasks which God has set us we can have nothing to fear, even from a coalition of the powers of Europe, were such a thing possible.'

We do not need a large standing army or a great navy either for conquest or self-defense. They are not necessary, as they would be dangerous to our peace and liberty. There was a time in our history when the general government seemed to be too weak and the states too strong. That condition of things passed away with the close of our civil war, when the executive seemed to acquire a new quality which clothed him with almost dictatorial power. It did not seem impossible to build a military despotism on American institutions. With ourselves, as in the rest of the civilized world, there is a drift toward socialism. We must face the great problems thus raised with faith in our political principles and with confidence in the good sense and honesty of the people. To seek refuge in the intervention of a standing army, under the command of a quasi-dictator or emperor, is to enter in the way of anarchy and ruin. On many sides there is evidence of moral decadence. Religion is losing its hold on the masses, respect for those who fill positions of authority is diminishing, the rights of property are becoming less sacred, the marriage tie is loosening, greed is increasing, capital becoming more unscrupulous. The virtue of thrift, moderation and forethought are less considered. We neither draw wisdom and inspiration from the past nor look to the future, but live like thoughtless children in the present. The distrust of the people of the men they elect to office is at once discouraging and injurious to public morality. Human life is taken on slight provocation and outrages which blacken our fair name are committed by mobs which seem to have lost all sense of humanity. In that which essentially constitutes education—the development of science, the formation of characters—our schools seem in a large measure to have failed. It is, of course, possible to take a different and brighter view of our condition by emphasizing our wealth, our national progress, our growth in numbers, our enlightenment, our enterprise; but a wise man gives little heed to that in which he succeeds, that he may better study wherein he fails. Why

should we turn from what is unpleasant if by considering it we may learn useful lessons? If we but have the courage to look steadfastly and to see things as they are we shall easily see that our true work lies here, and not thousands of miles away. We are the foremost bearers of the most precious treasure of the races. In the success of the experiment which we are making the hopes of all noble and generous souls for a higher life of mankind are centered. If we fail, the world fails; if we succeed, we shall do more for the good of all men than if we conquered all the islands and continents. Our mission is to show that popular government on a vast scale is compatible with the best culture, the purest religion, the highest justice, and that it can permanently endure. In comparison with this what would be a thousand groups of Philippines? What the most brilliant career of imperial pomp and glory?

When the American people resolved not to hold what they never intended to take possession of they will have little difficulty in finding a solution of this Philippine difficulty. Above all, let them not be misled by vanity; let them not harken to the siren voice of English flattery; let them not stop to think what other nations shall say, but let them, as becomes a great, a free and enlightened people, be self-directed, holding in view only such aims and ends as are wise and just and conducive to the permanent welfare and highest interest of the republic.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Remarks of Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chairman:

I hold in my hands the resolutions of the committee. Before I present them, however, I beg your permission to say, very briefly, why I have welcomed this service, and why I believe it to be our duty to pass the resolutions.

Two grave mistakes, fatal alike to the Filipinos and to us, have been made in the dealings of this nation with its new proteges. The earliest was committed by our chief magistrate, when, at the critical moment of his first official utterance to the people we had set free from Spanish tyranny, he offered them "good and stable government" with one hand, and with the other exacted unconditional obedience. The second, like unto it, was committed by our commanding general, when he refused even to listen to the overtures of the natural leader of the Filipinos, whom we ourselves had carried to Luzon, on an American battleship, to help us against the common enemy. "Submission or death," said Spain to Cuba, and plunged us, a year ago, into a war for liberty and humanity. The destruction of the Spanish fleet and the capture of Manila "have practically effected the conquest of the Philippine islands." . . . "As a result of the victories of American arms the future control, disposition and government of the Philippine islands are ceded to the United States," said President McKinley to the Filipinos.* "Submission or death," said Otis, when the inevitable war followed. These two blunders, which the American people are even now beginning to recognize, and of which our children will sometime think with shame and wonder, our administration is engaged in burying under military glory, with "the strong arm of authority," killing

*Proclamation of January 5, 1899.

thousands of Filipinos, at the cost of the lives of hundreds of brave American soldiers, who did not need to die to prove either American courage or American force. Not one syllable of conciliation has thus far been uttered. The President's ominous word, "conquest"—a word probably never before spoken in any American document of state—has been fitly and steadily backed by the general's words, "unconditional surrender."

But a third mistake, fellow-citizens, and no light one, lies at the door of us who are gathered here today, and at the doors of vast numbers of men and women throughout the country, who either did not see, in that fate-bearing proclamation of January 5th, the complete subversion of the fundamental principles of this proud Republic, and the inevitable seeds of a degrading war with a people struggling, just as the Cubans had struggled, to be free, or who, so seeing, failed to raise their voices in instant protest and warning. And this duty of open speech, which should have been clear to us then, becomes clearer every day, when so many of the men of the newspaper, the self-appointed representatives of the public conscience and intelligence, dare even to apply the name of "traitor" to any one that differs from a magistrate clothed by our own votes with a little brief authority, and who confessedly himself desires to be guided by that very public opinion which they would suppress. It is time that we spoke; and we of Chicago, who, in the fulfillment of this duty, are so far behind our fellow-citizens of many parts of the country, should not let another sun go down upon our silence. Your committee, then, offers to you these resolutions, in which, as it believes, are embodied the sentiments that actuate you who are gathered here today, and the principles which, until now, every American child has breathed in with his native air.

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THE RESOLUTIONS.*

The frank expression of honest convictions upon great questions of public policy is vital to the health and even to the preservation of representative government. Such expression is, therefore, the sacred duty of American citizens.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it is now necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to réaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We still maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the forcible subjugation of a purchased people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

We honor our soldiers and sailors in the Philippine islands for their unquestioned bravery and we mourn with the whole nation for the American lives that have been sacrificed. Their duty was obedience to orders; our duty is diligent inquiry and fearless protest. We hold that our government created the conditions which have brought about the sacrifice.

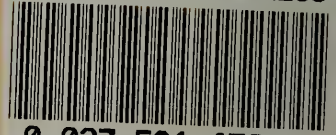
We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It is the spirit of '76 that our government is striving to extinguish in those islands; we denounce the attempt and demand its abandonment. We deplore and resent the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror, a deep dishonor to our nation.

We protest against the extension of American empire by Spanish methods and demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty begun by Spain and continued by us. We believe that a foolish pride is the chief obstacle to a speedy settlement of all difficulties. As Mr. Gladstone said to England, "We are

*The great audience adopted these resolutions by a rising vote, but four voting in the negative.

strong enough * * * to cast aside all considerations of false shame * * * walking in the plain and simple ways of right and justice." Our government should at once announce to the Filipinos its purpose to grant them under proper guarantees of order the independence for which they have so long fought, and should seek by diplomatic methods to secure this independence by the common consent of nations. It is today as true of the Filipinos as it was a year ago of the Cubans that they "are and of right ought to be free and independent."

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